

2006

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DOI: <https://doi.org/10.31979/etd.vn2h-evx4>

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THE CASE OF LOS SIETE DE LA RAZA:
AN HISTORICAL EXAMINATION
AND
CONTENT ANALYSIS

A Thesis
Presented to
The Faculty of the
School of Journalism and Mass Communications
San Jose State University

In Partial Fulfillment
Of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Science

By
Adriana Citlalli Martinez Diaz

August 2006

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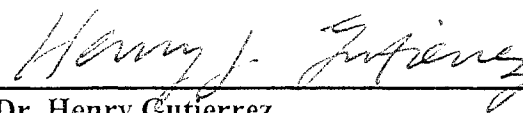
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ABSTRACT

THE CASE OF LOS SIETE DE LA RAZA AN HISTORICAL EXAMINATION AND CONTENT ANALYSIS

By Adriana C. Martinez Diaz

This thesis is a study of the newsprint coverage given to a case that took place in San Francisco, California, in 1969-1970 by both the mainstream newspaper, the *San Francisco Chronicle*, and the alternative newspaper *Basta Ya!* (Enough!).

The case known as Los Siete de la Raza (The Seven of Our Race) grew out of an incident between two Anglo police officers and six Latino youths in which one officer was shot and killed, the second officer was beaten, and six youths were facing the gas chamber.

The theories framing and agenda-building are used in this study to reveal how each newspaper communicated the story to its readers, the influence they each exerted on public opinion, and the evolution of the coverage as the case progressed.

The results of this study present an insight into the convergence of social, political, and legal forces of the time, towards a significant outcome.

DEDICATION

I would like to express my deepest gratitude and appreciation to those people who have been my inspiration and motivation in completing this long journey.

Thank you first to my parents who have shown me what true devotion and love is. My greatest hope has always been to make you proud, no matter what age. Your calmness and words of reassurance during this process have given me the confidence to continue forward with revived determination.

To my husband who has always demonstrated his constant love and support. Your encouragement on a daily basis has given me the strength to complete one of my life goals. Thank you for coming into my life and enriching every aspect.

To my beautiful children, Anaïs and Aydan Diego. You have been my greatest gift and greatest motivation to serve as an example of what is possible in your lives. My truest wish is that you see this only as the possibility of what great things you can and will accomplish. You are my miracles and will always be my finest achievement. I love you both beyond measure.

Also, I would like to thank all my family, my compadres, and friends who have offered their guidance and words of encouragement. My eternal love and gratitude to all of you.

Finally, to the School of Journalism and Mass Communications for challenging me in ways I did not anticipate but in the process making even stronger in my convictions.

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Introduction

"Racism has a long and sordid history rooted in the culture, institutions, and religion of this country."

(Turner, 1995, p.123) For the United States, racism has been a constant, generating stereotypes and keeping biases alive in the passing of generations. "Throughout America's history, White privilege allowed Blacks, Hispanics, American Indians, Asians, certain European immigrants and religious groups to gain only limited acceptance, usually after painful, hate-generated conflict." (Franklin, 1998, p.4)

In spite of the immense significance that immigrants have brought to the historical development of the United States as a country, the passing of time has not been successful in ending racism against immigrants. Instead new challenges have arisen, making it difficult to combat even today. To understand this, one must first appreciate the force of immigration into this country; "Between 1820 and 1970, 45 million immigrants entered the United States, 75 percent of them from European nations." (Wilson and Gutierrez, 1985, p.22) With such an influx, a majority group and minority group was clearly defined, setting the stage for how each group would be seen and treated.

"As a nation whose population growth has always been fueled by immigration, the United States has always had racial, national, and ethnic minorities." (Wilson and Gutierrez, 1985, p.15) However, this country having the largest influx of immigrants from all over the world, has not been successful in creating a "melting pot" as once was believed. Instead, inequality has formed between the ruling "majority" group of White Europeans and the "minority" group of people of color. (Wilson and Gutierrez, 1985, p.22) Evidence of this inequality has been measured in terms of income, social mobility and status. This study contends that one of the biggest contributors to maintaining this inequality has been the mass media.

The growth of the minority population in the United States has forced the media to reexamine the ways they have traditionally dealt with minority groups. As these groups grow in numbers... at a rate that outstrips the Anglo population, the media will have to continue to look for new ways to deal with them. (Wilson and Gutierrez, 1985, p.11)

However, these "new ways" are still being developed and the "traditional ways" of dealing with people of color are still in use. Stereotypes and falsehoods have continuously run rampant in much of the main stream news coverage. According to Freedman, et al. (1983), "empirical observation confirms the research conclusion that the chief

recipients of stereotyping have been and are Americans of color, of Jewish and Hispanic background, and of eastern and southern European descent." (p.134) This has contributed to racial tensions and it has perpetuated inequality.

An incident that occurred on the streets of San Francisco in 1969 offers a microcosm of racial bias which can best be understood through two mass communication theories, framing and agenda-building.

The Los Siete Incident

The key players:

Los Siete de la Raza (The Seven of Our Race): Gary Lescallet, Gio Lopez, Mario Martinez, Rodolfo Martinez, Danilo Melendez, Jose Rios, and Nelson Rodriguez

The Police Officers: Officer Joseph Brodник and Officer Paul McGoran

At approximately 10:20 a.m. on May 1, 1969, two plain-clothed police officers, Officer Joseph Brodник and Officer Paul McGoran, approached six Latino youths (Gio Lopez, Gary Lescallet, Mario Martinez, Rodolfo Martinez, Danilo Melendez and Jose Rios) moving a television set into the home of Jose Rios. The officers suspected them of moving stolen property. As the two officers approached the youths

an exchange of insults turned into a deadly altercation. It started with the officers asking for identification and three of the six youths going into the house. While the other three stood on the sidewalk, Officer McGoran insulted Gary Lescallet by calling him a wetback and saying, "I'm going to wash my hands on your back." When Gary told him he smelled like a brewery, McGoran, standing 6 feet, 4 inches, and weighing 213 pounds grabbed Gary and threw him up against a wall. Gary fought back and the two struggled to the ground. Officer McGoran reached for his .41 caliber Smith and Wesson "Magnum" gun he had concealed under his jacket. Danilo Melendez seeing the gun grabbed Officer McGoran's arm and in this struggle the gun goes off hitting Officer Brodnik in the chest, ending his life within minutes. A second shot went off and then McGoran bruised and beaten from his altercation with Gary and Danilo, slumped to the floor. The incident ended with one police officer shot and killed, his partner left bruised and beaten, and six Latino youths fleeing for their lives. Five days later, on May 6, 1969, 6 youths were apprehended in Santa Cruz driving a stolen car which they took from a couple on the beach. The seventh youth, Gio Lopez, separated from the others and was never apprehended. Nelson

Rodriguez, who was confirmed by alibis not to be at the incident, saw his name released with the other youths right after the incident occurred. Fearing for his safety and believing that the police would not believe his valid alibi, Nelson chose to leave with the other youths and was in the car when the Police apprehended them in Santa Cruz. He would serve the entire 18 months in jail although he was never at the crime scene.

This event took place in Noe Valley, just on the outskirts of San Francisco's well-known Mission District. Within minutes of the incident massive deployment of police forces made their presence at the scene, surrounding the area with Tactical Squads, dogs, ladders to access all roof tops, helicopters to survey the area, fire trucks, tear gas and M-16s. Police officers immediately spoke with the surviving plain-clothed officer, sending out an all point bulletin in what the newspapers called "one of the most intense manhunts in San Francisco's history." The mayor at the time, Mayor Joseph Alioto, in a statement released by his office offered a \$5,000 reward for information leading to the capture of each. Newspaper reporters quickly arrived at the scene of the incident and began the

interviews that would help them piece together the story that would appear in the newspaper.

The following morning the local paper, *The San Francisco Chronicle*, published front-page headlines reading, "Gang Escapes Siege: S.F. POLICEMAN SLAIN." ("Youths Kill," 1969) It is here that the official story begins. These were the first words ever seen by the public on this case. On that morning, as a city awoke to read their morning newspaper, what impact did those initial words hold? Did it set the tone of how the news media would report this story, and did it begin to influence the public's perception regarding this incident. Did this initial impression affect how all the key players in this case would be seen and judged? In response to the mainstream coverage, (and for the purpose of this thesis, in comparison to the mainstream coverage) a grass-roots organization was spontaneously born and quickly put into print a newspaper of its own called *Basta Ya!*, translated into English it means: *Enough!*. This newspaper along with the local *San Francisco Chronicle* also covered all pre-trial coverage along with continued coverage of the trial.

How did the coverage of these two newspapers vary and what was the over all tone set by each? How did each newspaper frame this story to the reading public?

The capture and imprisonment of the Latino youths and the subsequent trial on charges of murder for one police officer, attempted murder on a second police officer, and burglary, are part of a significant case that has never been analyzed by academicians in terms of the news print coverage, its impact on the city of San Francisco at large, and the changes it helped create in the surrounding Latino community.

Each newspaper communicated to the public what it believed to be the most important facts of the case. Through an analysis and a more thorough understanding of how this case was covered by both the *San Francisco Chronicle* and *Basta Ya!*, and in comparison to what was revealed through the trial transcripts and interviews, we can better understand the influence the press had on both the minority communities, and the community at large.

The Turbulent 1960s

This story occurred in the late 1960s and it is worthwhile remembering the volatility of that era. The unpopular Vietnam War was in full swing provoking

demonstrations on college campuses across the country. The Civil Rights Movement was fighting its own war with the assassinations of Malcolm X, Martin Luther King Jr. and Robert Kennedy. In Southern California the Watts Riots and the walkouts by Latino students in Los Angeles high schools continued to open eyes to the anger and tension of the times. Specifically in the Bay Area we saw the formation of the Farm Workers Movement, the rise of the Black Panther Party and the Third World Liberation Movement. U.C. Berkeley and San Francisco State became political meeting grounds to voice the students growing concerns about numerous issues including the Vietnam War, respect and equal rights for minority students and an end to police brutality just to name a few.

What many young people came to perceive in the 1960s was an enormous contradiction between television, the cinema, the school, and the home had taught them and the reality of racism, a brutal and deepening war abroad, the moral bankruptcy and lies of political leaders, and universities catering to military programs. (Litwack, 2001, p.5)

Through all the varying tensions of the changing times, the media was a visible constant, presenting the issues and events of the day in a traditional manner to the public. For many people, especially people of color, who were active in the politics of the time, a major area of

concern was the accuracy and the slant that the mass media coverage presented to the public. One location where these contradictory points of view would play out, for all to see, was in San Francisco, California.

The underlying question of this study is how did the mainstream newspaper communicate this story to the people as compared with how *Basta Ya!* communicated the story. This study will investigate the accuracy of the news coverage during the pre-trial phase, and during the trial of what came to be known as the trial of "Los Siete de la Raza" (The Seven of Our Race).

This study will also evaluate how the print coverage evolved during the entire case. The role the press played in the Latino community and how the trial was communicated to the public will be analyzed. The literature review will first discuss how the media helps contextualize or frame incidents for understanding and how it builds the agenda regarding important topics. These themes will also be explored in terms of popular issues such as media bias and stereotypes.

Literature Review

Essentially, we see the case of Los Siete de La Raza as a small but powerful example of the framing and agenda-building power of the press. The literature review will place this incident in terms of framing as our primary theory with agenda-setting as a secondary supportive theory. Then we will see how the press manifested its power through bias and perpetuated stereotypes.

Framing Theory

"Framing is the process by which a communication source, such as a news organization, defines and constructs a political issue or public controversy." (Nelson, Clawson, and Oxley, 1997, p.1)

Entman offers a useful definition:

To frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described. (1993, p.52)

This framing is achieved by varying approaches:

Journalists' common reliance on elite sources for quotes, insight, analysis, and information means that the media often serve as conduits for individuals eager to promote a certain perspective to a broader public audience. A well-placed quote or sound bite will convey a construction of an issue that could ultimately benefit a particular interest. (Nelson, Clawson, and Oxley, 1997, p.2)

"Through visual images and verbal material along with less direct approaches such as metaphors, caricatures and certain catchphrases, symbolic devices are passed on to the reader." (Gamson and Lasch, 1983, p.132) These "symbolic devices" reflect cultural themes and narratives that supply the reader with a narrow thinking process in regards to a particular issue and help "frame" how it will be seen. "How events and issues are packaged and presented by journalists can in this way fundamentally affect how readers and viewers understand those events and issues." (Price, Tewksbury, and Powers, 1997, p.2)

An article by Cynthia Hoffner (1998, p.316) written in the book *Television Violence and Public Policy* by James Hamilton, address two important functions of framing. First, the function of framing in characterizing or defining a problem. This deals with how the media defines a problem and in turn presents it to the public. Second, the function of framing in assigning responsibility to social problems. This deals with how a story explains what causes a problem and what will resolve it. By the media assigning responsibility and framing solutions in a particular way, the media are helping the public also decide who will be held responsible and who is wrong.

One of the problems identified with framing is the manner in which it causes an issue to be narrowly defined. Shanto Iyengar (1997) in his book *Is Anyone Responsible? How Television Frames Political Issues*, conducted several studies in regards to this issue and found that framing has a great impact on how the public will lay blame for social, political and economic conditions. He believed this was partly because of the media presenting issues in an episodic way rather than as part of a thematic context. Rather than giving a needed meaning to a story so that the reader has a better basis from which to understand, the media presents sensationalized headlines with the most attention-grabbing segment only. Because of this style of reportage, social issues are treated by the public as discrete and isolated issues rather than as part of a bigger picture. (Iyengar, 1997) An issue like gang violence can easily be blamed solely on the youths involved, without much concern for the social environment or governmental neglect that may have helped in the creation of their situation. By this, news framing tries to simplify a very complex issue. Nelson, Clawson, and Oxley agree stating that, "Frames shape individual understanding and opinion concerning an issue by stressing specific elements or

features of the broader controversy, reducing a usually complex issue down to one or two central aspects." (1997, p.3)

Agenda-Setting and Agenda-Building Theory

Maxwell E. McCombs and Donald L. Shaw (1972) conducted one of the most cited and discussed studies in regards to agenda setting theory. They provided the first empirically based studies on this process, which they called *The Agenda-Setting Function of Mass Media*. The study matched the beliefs of undecided voters from Chapel Hill, North Carolina about key issues in the 1968 presidential elections with the actual content used by the mass media during the campaign. A content analysis of selected media coverage provided a list of 15 categories of issues of major and minor importance to the press, as reflected in the number of appearances of those issues. The issues the media portrayed as most important to the election were also the issues the undecided voters considered to be most important. (McCombs and Shaw, 1972) The study succeeded in proving the media influenced the salience of issues and thereby set the public agenda.

McCombs and Shaw (1972) who focused more on the impact media had on politics, defined agenda-setting theory as

simply the media setting the agenda for what would be the salient political issues of the moment. They said readers learn not only about a given issue, but also how much importance to attach to that issue from the amount of information in a news story and its position. They felt this was only heightened by the fact that when it came to politics, media was for many, their only contact to information. (1972, p.177).

Gladys Lang and Kurt Lang (1981) felt that most of the information people believed to be their truth or fact, was actually a second or third-hand version passed from the mass media or from other people who heard it from mass media. They observed that, "Mass media force attention to certain issues. They build up public images of political figures. They are constantly presenting objects suggesting what individuals in the mass should think about, know about, have feeling about." (1981, p.468)

"The Agenda-Setting concept also illustrates the media's role in constructing the news rather than reporting it." (Kenneamer, 1992, p.8) By this, news becomes only one of many possible realities that the audience needs to sift through and decide which they will believe. Agenda-setting theory can be seen as part of a process more than a single

occurrence. Understanding that media coverage is only one version of the truth, with each new article or newscast, there is also a continual momentum to analyze what impact it can have and how this impact can change with each new analysis. By defining this theory as a process, it can be examined as having a beginning, middle, and an end result. (Cook, et al., 1983) As numerous researchers in the present have continued to analyze agenda-setting theory, the definitions have remained constant while researchers continue to explore all the avenues this theory can encompass. One such theory that has stemmed from the origins of agenda-setting is that of agenda-building.

Where as agenda-setting theory depends on public opinion polls to prove the validity of their argument that the media sets the agenda for the pertinent issues of the moment, agenda-building theory, as a sub-set of the other, seeks to answer the question; Who sets the media's agenda? Also, how is a public agenda built and who participates in the building of it?

Ohl, Pincus, Rimmer, and Harrison attempt to answer this question by stating, "Agenda building refers to sources' interactions with gatekeepers, a give-and-take process in which sources seek to get their information

published and the press seek to get that information from independent sources." (1995, p.90)

Shibuya states, "An issue moves to a place on the agenda after a crisis, some critical event which captures the attention of the policy maker either directly or indirectly by capturing and bringing about public action." (1996, p.542)

As defined by Cobb, Ross, and Ross in their article "Agenda-Building as a Comparative Political Process," (1976) "The process by which demands of various groups in the population are translated into items vying for the serious attention of public officials can appropriately be called agenda building." (p.126)

Weaver and Elliott in their article "Who sets the Agenda for the Media? A Study of Local Agenda-Building," (1985) define agenda-building as "how the press interacts with other institutions in society to create issues of public concern." (p.88)

These issues of public concern, known as the public agenda, consist of all issues which (1) are the subject of widespread attention or awareness; (2) require action in the view of a large proportion of the public; and (3) are the appropriate concern of some governmental unit, in the

perception of community members. (Cobb, Ross, and Ross, 1976, p.127)

Agenda-building theory helps prove there is a clear causal relationship between the media's agenda and the public's agenda. Knowing this to be the case, it can be seen where the amount of coverage given an issue along with where it is placed in a newspaper, can also have an impact. Framing structures the context by which to analyze any topic depicted.

Framing and Agenda-Building as Siblings

Both of these theories can be taken together to demonstrate how media transforms the unbiased source of information it claims to be, to setting a strategy that is filled with biases and stereotypes. Agenda-setting theory deals with the idea that issues, which receive heavy news coverage will also be the issues considered important to the public. Framing theory on the other hand, takes this a step further by analyzing what is said within the news stories, believing that journalists present public issues with in certain story frames. Both of these theories offer important information that together, become more valid. "As many scholars argue, media do not merely serve an agenda-setting role in public discourse but, through

selection and framing of news and opinion, are crucial in establishing the range of criteria for constructing, debating, and resolving social issues". (Domke, Shah, and Wackman, 1998, p.3)

Agenda-building theory and framing theory help put definitions to what we see in the media and help us put a needed perspective on this issue and serve as proof that "the power of the media to shape social events is a fact beyond dispute." (Baylor, 1996, p.1) Regarding the case of "Los Siete," agenda-building and framing will aid in analyzing public perceptions about this case and the issues involved. By understanding the foundation of agenda-setting, agenda-building, and framing, along with definitions of bias and stereotypes that can be looked for, a clearer comprehension can be attained in regards to the specific case covered in this thesis.

Research Questions

This study will examine the following questions:

1. What kind of press coverage did the case of "Los Siete" generate in the *San Francisco Chronicle*?
2. How did the coverage of the *San Francisco Chronicle* compare to the coverage of the *Basta Ya!* newspaper and what was the tone used by each?

3. To what extent did framing occur on the part of the newspapers?
4. Did agenda-building play a factor in how news coverage was presented to the reading public?

Purpose of the Study

Ever since the Payne studies of the impact of movies on youth, researchers have studied the impact and potential effect of mass media on society. We are so enmeshed in a media culture that people often forget the extent to which the press dominates our worldview. As Bernard Cohen expressed, "The press may not be successful much of the time in telling people what to think, but it is stunningly successful in telling its readers what to think about." (1963, p.7) This study will address this idea by searching for possible framing and agenda-building examples that may have taken place on the part of the newspapers in forming public opinion about "Los Siete." The benefits accompanying this study come in bringing forth the significance of how the coverage of a now forgotten case, helped shape the social dynamics that determined its development and outcome.

Since this case involved Latinos, it deals with cultural conflict not ordinarily covered in the media or

even in minorities' literature. This study also offers insights into the alternative newspaper *Basta Ya!*, what motivated its creation, and how the founders of this alternative press saw the need to develop a grass roots organization from a newspaper, all of which is not found in the archives of any library.

This thesis will be a comparative content analysis of the coverage of one event, from two diverse cultural perspectives. Through this study, we will better understand how to look for and stop the possible promulgation of bias. In its own right, this case is worthy of study in part because, on its merits, it summoned the participation of some of the brightest legal defense minds of the day, and it exposed to public view the great divisions at that time between the San Francisco police and the Latino community. The case of Los Siete de la Raza energized and motivated the Latino community to fight for justice, and changed the lives of many of those involved forever.

The Role of Mass Media

Few would doubt that the media have a powerful effect on each of us as individuals and upon our society as a whole. Too often we rely upon the media and we forget that

the news we receive is written by very fallible human beings. Tim Baylor, in his article *Media Framing of Movement Protest* writes, "The power of media agents has increased as daily living has become more complex, and as the amount of information available to the average citizen has exploded. Those agencies able to offer a concise summary of important information wield considerable power." (1996, p.1) Especially in today's society with an influx of technology, cell phones, the internet, expanded television stations, Sirius Radio, we are even more inundated by the media and dependent on it to inform us about world events, and about what is going on in our own communities.

Robert Baukus, in his article "Perception of Mediated Social Conflict: Media Dependency and Involvement," sees the impact of an ingrained media culture on society through dependency theory. Baukus believes that a person's reliance on the mass media for information stems from their inability to have direct experience with an issue. Therefore, what a person learns about the world beyond direct experience is influenced and shaped by the information offered by the media. (1999, p.91) In today's fast paced environment people are even less likely to have first hand accounts therefore making the need to rely and

trust in numerous media sources even greater. However these media outlets do not operate in a separate sphere. They influence each other. As Baukus sees it "the media outlets that have evolved [have become] a product of the social environment in which they operate." (Baukus, 1999, p.92)

Edward Herman argues that media serve to reinforce an already established social system. "The selection of established views for presentation as news may serve a social control function as divergent views become confined to the fringes of media coverage and the opposition becomes marginalized." (1985, p.135) Thus, the media reinforce the status quo, emphasizing the dominant social system and pushing aside any opposing views. In essence, the media serve as agents for social control.

The dependency and social control that the media create can have grave repercussions for the reader, in particular, for the reader of color. Two areas where this is seen are in the presence of biases and stereotypes in media coverage.

Media Bias and Stereotypes

Allan Rachlin, in his book *News as Hegemonic Reality*, defines bias as "a systematic distortion of reality that presents not only an untrue picture of reality but a

consistently patterned untrue picture." (1988, p.8) By this definition, Rachlin concludes that the public has the ability to point out a bias by deciphering a discrepancy between what the news tells them about the political world around them and what they actually experience on their own.

Michael Parenti in his article *Methods of Media*

Manipulation explains how media bias functions in all areas including among people of color:

Media bias usually does not occur in random fashion; rather, it moves in the same overall direction again and again, favoring management over labor, corporation over corporate critics, amount whites over low-income minorities, officialdom over protesters, the two-party monopoly over leftist third-party parties, privatization and free market 'reforms' over public sector development, U.S. dominance of the Third World over revolutionary or populist social change, national security policy over critics of that policy, and conservative commentators and columnists like Rush Limbaugh and George Will over populist ones like Jim Hightower and Ralph Nader. (1997, p.5)

Along with the presence of media bias, there is also the problem of defining stereotypes. Walter Lippman, in his 1922 book *Public Opinion*, first popularized the idea of stereotypes. Lippman suggested that, on a daily basis, mass media created images of a distant world in people's minds; he called this world the "unseen environment."

(p.78) This unseen world is not just framed by how the media creates images of how we view something occurring on

the other side of the world, such as the image many carry about the war in Iraq and the key players involved but also how we even view our own neighbor of a different ethnic or racial background. Large or small they are all "unseen environments" to the individual. At the same time, the mass media creates mental images of what events are most important. In other words, the media influence the salience of events in the audience's mind. He warned the press was responsible as purveyors and interpreters of events in society. He also addressed the impact media had on political views. He argued that, as a society, people fabricated and assembled interpretations of the real world through what was fed to them by the media. He called this fabrication a pseudo environment, one that is only a made-up version of reality. These made up versions are stereotypes. (1922, p.6) Robert Baukus' view of dependency theory derives from Lippman's view.

Richburg, Nelson, and Reid, in their article *Jump Starting Thinking, Challenging Students Perceptions*, hold that stereotyping is natural and may even be a helpful activity for the intellect, but they also confirm that stereotypes "are often based on erroneous or incomplete information." (2000, p.4) Incorrect information is often

given to the public via media coverage. "When you ignore all of the self-righteous posturing of the media, it is easy to see that racial and ethnic stereotypes still dominate much of reporting today." (Saltzman, 2000, p.2) Saltzman goes on to say that the news coverage given to people of color is either non-existent when it comes to positive news or plentiful as the source of a particular problem, such as crime, immigration or economy.

These stereotypes are perpetuated by the type and manner of use of photos, the specific text in the headlines, and the selected footage used during the coverage. The biggest problem, he states, is the fact that the media has lost the ability to be objective and see when stereotypical images are being portrayed. "These derogatory images are so ingrained in the minds of those who deliver Americans their news that most news people fail to realize how out of touch the media are in reflecting the community they serve." (2000, p.2)

Wilson and Gutierrez, in their book *Minorities and Media*, discuss the impact of these media biases and stereotypes:

Since news reflects what is really important to a society, minority coverage in mainstream news reporting provides insight into the status of minorities. By

their professional judgments, the gatekeepers of news reveal how inconsequential minorities are to American society and determine the ways in which they are interpreted to the majority audience. (1985, p.134)

Stereotyping of the Latino population by the media has been rampant. Greenberg, et al., in their book *Mexican Americans and the Mass Media* discuss in detail the portrayals given to Latinos by the media. In regards to newspaper coverage, they state, "Stereotypical symbols have been used by mass media sources to designate Chicano groups. Terms like *wetback* and *illegal alien* have negative connotations and were used as descriptions in much coverage of Chicano-related news events." (1983, p.29) They also cite the findings of a study conducted by Felix Gutierrez. He analyzed news coverage and stated that negative depictions of Mexican Americans become greater when problem issues between Hispanic and Anglos begin to surface. He concluded that the use of unfavorable stereotypes may trigger stereotypical images of all Chicanos in Anglo minds and will breed unfavorable feeling where they previously did not exist. (1983, p.29)

As a society, we have allowed mass media to become an entity unto itself, no longer working for the people but for themselves. As stated by McQuail, "Media are not

merely neutral message carrying networks, but rather, are themselves separate institutions with their own objectives to pursue, their own power and institutional dynamics."

(McQuail, 1979) Miliband offers a Marxist critique. How could it be any different, he asks, considering that the character and role of the mass media serves the capitalist society from which they draw their livelihood. The media are bound to accept the perspective of the oppressive power structure over the down-trodden immigrant. (Miliband, 1969, p.236)

The public is dependent on the news media for information and accuracy. Not surprisingly, in many cases people rely only on the media to supply them with all their news and politics. However, when it is estimated that on an average evening, 50 million Americans watch ABC, NBC, or CBS network news, (Nelson, Clawson, and Oxley, 1997, p.21), not to mention the number of people who read newspapers, there is cause to be concerned about the accuracy and effects that biases and stereotypes can have on the national conscience.

Scope of Study and Method

Scope of Study

This thesis is a comparative content analysis of the coverage of one event, from two diverse cultural perspectives. The underlying question of this study is: How do the media use framing and agenda building to shape our views of social classes in America? Because this question is so large, it will be examined through the narrow scope of a single incident depicting a clash between cultures and classes. Therefore, our immediate question will be: How did the *San Francisco Chronicle* communicate this story to the public as compared with how *Basta Ya!* communicated the same story. This study will investigate the accuracy of the pre-trial news coverage of the trial of "Los Siete de la Raza" (The Seven of Our Race). Samples of the coverage will be collected from the *San Francisco Chronicle* and *Basta Ya!*. The time frame analyzed will span from May 1, 1969, the day of the incident, through the duration of the trial ending on November 7, 1970, with the acquittal of the seven men. Pre-trial coverage on the part of both newspapers will be analyzed to discern if there was bias in said coverage. Interviews will also be conducted with various individuals either directly involved with the

case or spectators aware of the case. The list of those to be interviewed includes:

- ◆ Mario Martinez: One of the surviving defendants on trial.
- ◆ Several organizers and participants of the grass-roots Los Siete Organization and *Basta Ya!* newspaper.

The scope of the study in regards to the news coverage will be divided into two distinct stages. The first stage will be from May 1, 1969, to July 1, 1970. This time frame involves coverage from the time of the incident, the manhunt, the initial capture and imprisonment, and up to the day before the trial began. The second stage will be from July 2, 1970, to November 7, 1970. This time frame involves all trial coverage on the part of the mainstream newspaper and the alternative newspaper, and the trial transcripts. Two separate time frames will be used to establish how the case was presented to the people in pre-trial status, and subsequently if there was any shift in this coverage after the trial began and the actual facts were presented.

Method

A qualitative and quantitative analysis will be used to better understand the dynamics surrounding the case. Quantitative analysis will be used to confirm the amount of coverage and prominence of coverage given to this case by the media along with the context or frames in which it was reported. This data will be collected by reviewing the coverage of the case in both newspapers and logging the amount of coverage, the consistency of coverage, and framing that occurred through comparison between the *San Francisco Chronicle* and the alternative paper *Basta Ya!*. The *San Francisco Chronicle* was picked because it was the principal newspaper in the city of San Francisco, where the incident took place. *Basta Ya!* was selected because it was created specifically to provide alternative coverage on this case and was formed by the people in the Latino community of San Francisco to keep the community informed of issues directly affecting them. By its very nature, the *Basta Ya!* newspaper served a different purpose and offered an alternative view point from that of the *San Francisco Chronicle*. Copies will be made of all microfilm articles collected from the *San Francisco Chronicle*. Copies will

also be made of all *Basta Ya!* newspaper articles.

Qualitative analysis will give an in-depth description that can only come from interviewing and receiving actual accounts from the people present at the time of the incident and during the trial. The comments from the interviews will strengthen both images and give more richness of detail. This data will be collected by transcribing all interviews done and giving detailed accounts of people's views on the issues plus from analysis of the trial transcripts.

Triangulation will come in the content analysis comparison between the two newspapers and comparing these results to the interviews conducted and to the actual trial transcripts. The trial transcripts in particular will serve as a basis as to what actually took place during the trial. The results of these comparisons authenticate the literature review and the theories discussed as proof that framing and agenda-building are factors affecting the news coverage.

The expected number of stories to be analyzed between both newspapers is estimated at 150 articles, comprising all coverage given by the two newspapers in the time span from May 1, 1969, to November 7, 1970.

Results

Results show this case merited a substantial amount of press coverage. From the dates of May 1, 1969, the day of the incident, to the date of November 7, 1970, the day of the acquittal, the *San Francisco Chronicle* dedicated over 160 articles to this case. *Basta Ya!* which ran 13 issues in the same time frame, had a total of 47 articles.

Two Papers - Two Realities

Analysis of over 200 articles and over 8,000 pages of trial transcripts reveal confirmation to the original question in the scope of this study. How did the mainstream newspaper, the *San Francisco Chronicle*, communicate this story to the people as compared to how *Basta Ya!* communicated the story? During all coverage there were differences and similarities in how each newspaper communicated to the readers. The differences were on the versions that each newspaper presented to the public of the same, single event. The similarities were that stereotypes and biases were present in both the *San Francisco Chronicle* and *Basta Ya!* newspapers.

The San Francisco Chronicle, a long established mainstream newspaper, trusted by the public to deliver unbiased, truthful reporting, instead immediately set out

to charge and convict these Latino youths in the public discourse by vilifying them and stating unsubstantiated accusations, while at the same time glorifying the accomplishments of the police team involved in this incident, and evoking sympathy only for the two police officers and their families, this with out truly knowing the facts of the case.

Basta Ya!, on the other hand, a newspaper originally created for the sole purpose of defending these Latino youths, used its own loaded dialogue against the establishment and set a tone of anger for the injustice they felt was put on Los Siete and from their first article stood behind the innocence of the youths. Yolanda Lopez speaks of her motivation to join the Los Siete Organization:

I grew up in a very conservative, military republican town, we were taught a strong sense of civil liberties and to believe in the constitution. In this event I saw a contradiction to this. It's the contradiction that made me full of rage. (Yolanda Lopez, personal communication, March 19, 2006)

Identified in each newspaper were specific frames that establish the presence of media bias, stereotypes, and a slanted tone.

Frames Used by the San Francisco Chronicle in Pre-Trial Coverage

From our analysis of all articles collected on this case during pre-trial coverage, we found there to be specific prevalent frames.

- Disruption: The paper painted a picture of chaos caused by the incident, and the mobilization, time, and energy put into the capture of the youths.
- Need for Justice: Set the importance of the police to find the "killers" of one of their own.
- Good against Bad: Established immediately a villain and hero for the reader.
- Stereotypes: used derogatory language against the assailants to establish a "them vs. us" attitude.
- Sympathy: displayed great empathy for the family of the slain officer and also for the surviving officer making it clear he was an innocent victim in this incident with no fault in the end result. No empathy for the families of the youths involved.

The headlines and statements used by the *San Francisco Chronicle* serve as proof to the above mentioned frames:

- Youths Kill an S.F. Policeman - Wild Siege at Shooting Scene" ("Youths Kill," 1969)
- "One of San Francisco's most highly decorated police officers met sudden death at the hands of at least three young hoodlums in Noe Valley yesterday. And his police partner, another highly decorated officer, was knocked down kicked in the teeth, and disarmed. The two officers held a total of 29 commendations for bravery." ("Youths Kill," 1969)
- "The tactical squad, police dogs, a police helicopter and scores of officers converged on the area. Volleys of automatic rifle fire were pumped into the second floor and attic of the suspected building where at least two of the youths were believed hiding. Tear Gas shells were also fired into the building. ...Officers wearing gas masks and with guns at the ready smashed through the doors." ("Youths Kill," 1969)
- "Huge search For Killers of Policeman" ("Huge search," 1969)
- "Huge Cop Killer Search - 6 Youths Wanted in Shooting" ("Huge Search," 1969)

- "A Massive manhunt was underway in San Francisco and through out Northern California yesterday for six teenagers wanted in questioning about the killing of Police Officer Joseph M. Brodник." ("Huge Search," 1969)
- "The entire homicide squad of eight detectives was assigned to the case, bolstered by another four detectives." ("Huge Search," 1969)
- "...FBI will be asked to join in the manhunt."
(Waite, 1969)
- "...Captain Lee expressed confidence in the outcome. "We'll find them" he said." ("Huge Search," 1969)
- "The killers of Patrolman Joseph Brodник remained at large yesterday on the eve of the day of mourning proclaimed by Mayor Joseph L. Alioto." ("Cop Killer Hunt," 1969)
- "A Survivor-Rites for an idealistic Cop" (Waite, 1969)
- "It was Officer McGoran's gun that the hoodlums grabbed to kill Officer Brodnik. No one blamed McGoran-but the deep lines on his badly bruised face as he limped up the church steps yesterday gave

evidence that he still was wondering: "What if..."
(Waite, 1969)

- "In an era when it isn't safe for people to walk the streets of our cities in broad daylight, Father McGee said, Officer Brodnik was one of the "thin blue line saving this country from anarchy." (Waite, 1969)
- "Archbishop McGucken paused beside the hearse to try, with words, to dry daughter Colleen's tears. It almost worked." (Waite, 1969)

With over 160 articles spanning 18 months, it can ascertain that the frames present in much of the coverage along with the amount of coverage dedicated to this case by the *San Francisco Chronicle* helped form the public agenda in placing this case at a level of importance. As the major newspaper of the time for San Francisco and all surrounding areas, with a circulation of over 364,000 papers read daily it reached a vast population. ("A brief timeline," 1999)

Words Used to Describe the Youths

The pre-trial coverage by the *San Francisco Chronicle* covered a total of 39 articles. Specific frames and frequency of use to describe the youths in all pre-trial coverage are as follows:

- Gang:12
- Latin types:2
- Latino types:3
- Hippie Latino types:2
- Cop-killers:2
- Killers:6
- Hoodlums:4
- Thieves:2
- Chicanos:7
- Burglary suspects:6
- Armed and Dangerous:2
- Auto Boosters:1
- Car thieves:1
- Narcotics Peddlers:1

Frames Used by *Basta Ya!* In Pre-Trial Coverage

In the coverage by *Basta Ya!* newspaper there were also specific frames that were prevalent.

- Injustice: set a tone of anger for how the youths were already convicted before the trial.
- Time for Action: Set this incident as the breaking point and a sense of urgency for immediate change.

- Organizing: strong sense of community was established with a need to unite against yet another injustice.
- Good against Bad: Used derogatory language against the police to establish a "them vs. us" attitude.
- Sympathy: Established the youths and their families as victims to a conspiracy by the establishment.

The headlines and statements used by Basta Ya! serve as proof to the above mentioned frames:

- "Free Los Siete - Frame-up in the Mission: Latino youths charged with murder" ("Frame-up," 1969)
- "The news media in alliance with self seeking politicians and their instrument of oppression, the police, are attempting to make Los Siete into the perfect stereotypes they have created." ("Frame-up," 1969)
- "We are through letting the police run amuck on our streets, beating, shooting and black-mailing our people. We will not allow the press, politicians and big businessman to take our seven brothers to the gas chamber because someone allegedly shot a police man." ("Rios Family," 1969)
- "The Siete de La Raza are innocent, but the

misinterpretations, the lies, and the hysteria have all contributed to the confusion and have discredited our entire race while at the same time having sentenced the Siete way before the trial has even begun." Spoken by the father of Jose Rios ("Rios Family," 1969)

- "Tomorrow it could be any of you. We have to be prepared and united to fight this nucleus of disease. We have to save our people from the injustice of this country which calls itself a democracy." Spoken by the father of Rodolfo and Mario Martinez (Mr. Martinez Speaks," 1969)
- "McGoran and Brodnik (and the 2-foot rubber hose Brodnik carried with him) were notorious in the community for their harassment of brothers." ("Frame-up," 1969)
- "There are 7500 La Raza people in the state penitentiaries, 8000 others on parole. More brown people are serving prison sentences than attending colleges in California." ("Harassment," 1970)
- "One of the first things brown people learn on the streets is fear of the police. For young people out on the streets with no recreation, no place to go,

every patrol car means harassment. A minor incident may result in arrest, injury, even death." ("Media is the Pig," 1969)

- "The Media is the Pig" ("Media is the Pig," 1969)
They (the media) have already tried, condemned, and executed our brothers." ("Media is the Pig," 1969)
- "Our brothers are being made an example of, they have been dehumanized, they are vicious murders, criminals and street punks." ("Media is the Pig," 1969)
- "Would you let your son, your brother go to the gas chamber? This will happen if you the community do not make the effort to find out what really happened, if you the community sit back and allow another incident with police enforcing the law with an interpretation of their own." ("Media is the Pig," 1969)

It is evident by the above quotes that the *San Francisco Chronicle* and *Basta Ya!* had different view points. Their frames although similar in creating sympathy and good against bad, are addressing the exact same incident but from two adverse sides.

While the *San Francisco Chronicle* focused on the grieving widow with articles entitled, "Slain Officer's

Family-A Widow's Story of Fear," ("Slain Officer's Family," 1969) and "Life with out Joseph Brodник," (Green, 1970), *Basta Ya!* focused their sympathy on the families of the imprisoned youths with articles like, "The Martinez Family-Fighters for La Raza," ("Martinez Family," 1969), and "The Rios Family in the Americas." ("Rios Family," 1969)

For the *San Francisco Chronicle* it was clear the youths were the villains, while the police were heroes risking their lives. When the organizers and creators of the *Basta Ya!* newspaper were asked how they felt about the press coverage by the *San Francisco Chronicle*, their responses were instant and very clear in memory, "They were all guilty, Cop Killers" (Maria Elena Ramirez, personal communication, March 19, 2006), "Their language was terrible, they put us as terrorists, and even when they were innocent, they still wouldn't except an innocent verdict" (Judy Drummond, personal communication, March 19, 2006), "they were common thugs, and criminals, killers." (Donna James Amador, personal communication, March 19, 2006)

In contrast, e-mails were sent to two reporters working for the *San Francisco Chronicle* who wrote articles pertaining to the incident; they responded by stating, they

definitely remembered the case, but with the thousands of articles they wrote, the ones dealing with Los Siete were not significant enough to remember, especially with so much time having passed. They declined to be interviewed.

Even in the headline first used by each newspaper, two very different impressions are made. The *San Francisco Chronicle* with a headline of "Youths Kill an S.F. Policeman - Wild Siege at Shooting Scene" ("Youths Kill," 1969) lets the reader know who is responsible for this tragedy, while the headline from *Basta Ya!*, "Free Los Siete - Frame-up in the Mission: Latino youths charged with murder" ("Frame-up," 1969) gives the impression that these youths were set-up and the community is needed to fight for their freedom.

Donna James Amador, one of the original organizers for the Los Siete Organization and *Basta Ya!*, also discussed the greater impact that the *San Francisco Chronicle* had in slanting a story in 1969 than in the present. She states:

Back then we didn't have 24 hour a-day news, we didn't have internet, we didn't have very much in the way of alternative press except for what people chose to tell us and that was pretty much you got your morning newspaper and sometimes evening paper. (Donna James Amador, personal communication, March 19, 2006)

The distinction in coverage between both newspapers was clear throughout the 18-month time frame and could also be seen in the pictures each used.

Pictures as Strong Frames

Not only did the language used by each newspaper set them apart, but also the pictures accompanying many of the articles made it clear that the reader of each was exposed to two completely different view points.

The *San Francisco Chronicle* had a total of 42 accompanying pictures to their 160 articles in the entire 18 month span from May 1, 1969 to November 7, 1970. *Basta Ya!* which ran 47 articles in the same time span had 32 accompanying pictures plus additional visual images consisting of 19 images of a raised fist, the symbol of struggle and a time to fight for the organization and people of color of the time, 21 images asking the readers for either donations to Los Siete legal defense, support at rally's, attendance at the court trial or a subscription form to the newspaper, 18 sketches taken during the actual trial showing all the relevant participants, and finally 24 hand drawn images depicting their resistance movement. All the graphic design, as we would call it today, was done free hand by Yolanda Lopez, an artist and member of the Los

Siete Organization who worked on the paper. She states, "The imagery that we had was very eye catching." (Yolanda Lopez, personal communication, March 19, 2006) This imagery also contributed to setting them apart from other papers including the *San Francisco Chronicle*.

The accompanying pictures, by each newspaper, served the purpose of creating strong emotions in their readers and also contributed in framing their view point of the story. The following pictures are part of the appendix.

San Francisco Chronicle Pictures (See Appendix B.)

- Picture 1: May 2, 1969, front page, shows the dead police officer still lying on the street, covered by a sheet.
- Picture 2: May 2, 1969, p.3, shows both officers smiling in their patrol car, with the heading above reading, "End of A Crack Team - Mission Eleven's Record".
- Pictures 3 and 4: May 2, 1969, front page, shows school pictures of four suspects as their mug shots with quote above that states, "Youths Sought - Policeman Shot to Death in S.F."
- Picture 5: May 3, 1969, p.3, picture of the grieving

widow with her three children.

- Picture 6: May 6, 1969, front page, picture of Officer Paul McGoran at the funeral of his partner bruised and needing assistance to walk.
- Pictures 7 and 8: May 7, 1969, front page, showing the youths in handcuffs.
- Picture 9: July 22, 1970, p.5, picture of the four lawyers defending Los Siete and a picture of the widow who attended court that day.
- Pictures 10 and 11: August 20, 1970, p.30, pictures of the supporters and police clashing during a rally supporting Los Siete.
- Picture 12: November 8, 1970, front page, picture of Los Siete on the day of the acquittal.
- Picture 13: November 10, 1970, front page, picture minutes after the acquittal of Los Siete being arrested, handcuffed and shackled on charges incurred during their initial capture 18 months prior.
- Picture 14: November 30, 1970, p.22, picture of widow with caption, "Life Without Joseph Brodник."

Basta Ya! Pictures (See Appendix C.)

- Picture 1: June 1969, front page with image of raised fists, symbolizing "Power to the People."
- Picture 2: June 1969, p.2, picture of Mrs. Martinez with her children, mother to Mario and Rodolfo Martinez when they were young boys.
- Picture 3: June 1969, p.3, picture of Che Guevarra, known revolutionary.
- Picture 4: June 1969, p.3, picture of a third world woman soldier, known as "soldaderas."
- Picture 5: October 1969, picture on front page of supporters of Los Siete protesting.
- Picture 6: November 1969, cover of November issue.
- Picture 7: November 1969, p.4, ad for Free Los Siete Rally.
- Picture 8: November 1969, p.6, picture of supporters at rally.
- Picture 9: January 1970, cover of January issue.
- Picture 10: January 1970, p.5, ad asking for support at the trial.
- Picture 11: January 1970, p.1, picture of six defendants with lead counsel, Charles Garry.

- Picture 12: August 1970, p.1, picture of Los Siete.
- Picture 13: August 1970, p.3, sketch of Los Siete during trial.
- Picture 14: August 1970, p. 6, ad for National Rally and plea for money for defense.

The difference in pictures shows who each newspaper was focused on reaching. While the *San Francisco Chronicle* focused on showing the Police Officers and the grieving widow, in direct contrast *Basta Ya!* focused on familiarizing the reader with exactly who these youths were, what their accomplishments were and showing the decent, hard working families they came from. Donna James Amador states "We had to counter what they [*San Francisco Chronicle*] said but we also had to try and write the truth, we had a lot of interviews with the guys to humanize them and for people to see they weren't murders." (Donna James Amador, personal communication, March 19, 2006)

Also, while the *San Francisco Chronicle* focused on showing pictures of the youths only in mug shots or with handcuffs, *Basta Ya!* used school pictures accompanied by poems written by the youths and pictures of them while interviewed to make these youths not only likeable but

worthy of defending. Also important to note is the fact that *Basta Ya!*, determined to reach their community, printed many of their articles in both Spanish and English in order to reach a greater number of Latinos.

Framing and Agenda-Building in the *San Francisco Chronicle*

During this research it was discovered that the framing and agenda-building for this case actually started the week before the incident even occurred. In an article published on the front page of the *San Francisco Chronicle* on April 25, 1969 entitled, "A Gang's Terror in the Mission District," the paper set in motion what they felt to be one of the most pertinent issues for the reader to be aware of. The article states, "A loose knit gang of idlers and hoodlums are slowly closing a fist of fear around the business life of a once bustling Mission District neighborhood." (Jarvis, 1969) The article continued to discuss this gang as out of control, and terrorizing the streets; a blanket statement was made that identified the perpetrators as any youth of the Mission District.

It is important to note in 1969, San Francisco was comprised of "about 100,000 Latin Americans most of them concentrated in or near the Mission District." (Heins, 1972, p.18) Also important to note is that in 1968 the

average income level in the city of San Francisco was \$6,717, while the average for residents of the Mission District was lower at \$5,280. Even worse, the average income for Spanish-surnamed residents of the Mission District was only \$4,290, with still 20% of the Spanish surnamed having incomes less than \$3,000. (San Francisco City Demonstration Agency, "First Action Year: Comprehensive Development Plan, as cited in Heins, 1972)

In a subsequent April 26, 1969 article, Mayor Alioto explained the creation of a task force to be formed of 160 police officers to start a crack down within the Mission District. He sated, "a program to deal with roving bands of hoodlums and to curb the terror in the Mission District." In this same article, Police Chief Thomas Cahill also made their resolve clear:

It has to be put over to the criminal that this is the wrong city. Nobody's going to get hurt except the criminal. We can't go out and pussyfoot around, and I don't want any complaining that police are being aggressive." ("Cahill to Put," 1969)

Within three days all squads would take to the street with this new mission in mind.

Three days later the incident involving Los Siete would become the "I told you so" statement, proving their original suggestion that those "punks" were the problem.

The police and the *San Francisco Chronicle* had an established understanding which translated into how their media coverage would represent their interests. On a larger scale, the tone and frames brought out in this article carried over to all the subsequent coverage of this case. From the original theories discussed in the literature review, this article serves the definition of both framing and agenda-building.

Framing in this article and all that follow in regards to this case, fall in line with Entman's original definition:

To frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described." (1993, p.52)

This framing creates a simple answer to a very complex issue. Simply stated, the "punks and hoodlums" were to blame for all the problems in the Mission District without taking into account the numerous confrontations the youths had to face at the hands of police brutality, racial slurs, lack of respect, constant harassment, and victimization of the prevalent social ills of the time.

Change in Coverage with the Beginning of the Trial

Analysis found that *Basta Ya!* did not have any significant change in their coverage with the start of the trial, except to become more vigilant in proving they were right from the beginning to support Los Siete and their status as innocent.

We supported them from the beginning, and so we had a great time with the trial testimony, they [the lawyers] just had this line up of people testifying to what a brutal officer he [Paul McGoran] was, we could not have written it better." (Donna James Amador, personal communication, March 19, 2006)

Stated by Maria Elena Ramirez, "There was such a motivation to have social justice." (Maria Elena Ramirez, personal communication, March 19, 2006)

On the part of the *San Francisco Chronicle*, although there was a shift in coverage to reporting more the facts as they were revealed in the trial, there still was an apparent bias tone in the coverage.

The four lawyers defending Los Siete were portrayed as bullies especially towards the star witness for the prosecution, Officer McGoran, who spent close to three weeks testifying. Stated in a July 14, 1970 article:

McGoran's fifth day in the witness chair found him once again facing a barrage of accusation from Garry. Garry charged him with being an alcoholic, a rogue cop who stocked his own apartment with stolen items he

persuaded burglars to give or sell him, and - the most often repeated charge - that he is a pathological liar. In the few times he was allowed to answer Garry, McGoran coolly denied all such charges." (Avery, 1970)

McGoran who was glorified during all pre trial coverage as a hero and exceptional police officer was now being exposed by the lawyers for his true self. As stated by Charles Garry in his closing arguments:

We have presented him (Paul McGoran) to you as we have found him to be a crumb, to be a vile and rotten person, a thief, a man who would use his badge and would use the dignity of his wearing a police uniform or being a part of a Police Department in order to steal. You know this is a vile and rotten person, one of the rottenest people I have ever had an opportunity to do a study on. (*California v. Los Siete de la Raza*, 1970)

Confirming Garry's statement was Judy Drummond, one of the organizers who stated, "It had gone on long enough, they (the defendants) weren't the only ones that had been harassed, those two cop had been beating people up, they had a history in the Mission." (Judy Drummond, personal communication, March 19, 2006)

During the trial the *San Francisco Chronicle* continued printing articles focusing on the grieving widow and the surviving police officer. On July 21, 1970, an article entitled, "Officer's widow watches trial," discusses the widow's experience listening to testimony stating, "Mrs.

Brodnik heard every word but left her face expressionless and masked any emotion she may have felt." (Avery, 1970)

In an article released 16 days after the start of the trial, focusing on Paul McGoran, "Los Siete Officer Files for Disability," the article continues to state:

McGoran wishes to retire from the police force because of a disability incurred while on the job. During the incident on May 1, 1969, McGoran was slugged, kicked in the teeth, and disarmed. It was with his gun that Brodnik was killed." ("Los Siete Officer," 1970)

On the part of the youths, the youth's families or even any of the supporters, not a single one-on-one interview was ever conducted in the entire eighteen month time span.

On several occasions the *San Francisco Chronicle* did refer to the supporters that were at the trial on a daily basis. They were however mentioned as nuisances and the comments made were still bias in nature. "Two-thirds of the spectators unashamedly admit they are supporters of the six defendants." (Avery, 1970) On another occasion the *San Francisco Chronicle* made light of the supporters by stating, "A murder trial is never a pretty thing but pretty girls are there everyday. Brown skinned beauties with dark dazzling eyes, and swinging, golden hoop earrings." (Streeter, 1970)

These kinds of stereotypical and sexist comments reveal once again the slanted racist view that was felt and conveyed by the *San Francisco Chronicle*. In comparison to this kind of offensive comment, Charles Garry in his closing arguments offers an alternative view point. He states:

I have accused the judge of being a male chauvinist, and a male supremacist, and it is permeating our entire society. We have downgraded women to a point where they can do the same work as a man does and get a third of the pay, or a half of the pay, or three-quarters of the pay. This has been going on daily, hourly, in our so-called beloved equal society.
(*California v. Los Siete de la Raza*, 1970)

Conclusion

This thesis finds that the case of the state of California versus Los Siete de la Raza was a powerful turning point within the large Latino community. While the war in Vietnam raged on abroad, people of color had been fighting their own war here at home. This incident, and subsequent trial, served as a catalyst to energize a community, and brought to light the turbulent issues facing all people of color in San Francisco, and across the country; an institutionally created bias towards third world people, a racist establishment that worked to oppress and stunt any growth within communities of color, and subjugate all racial and ethnic groups out of the mainstream, to a second-class citizen status. The *San Francisco Chronicle* followed suit by printing lies, stereotypes, and a one-sided bias version of the truth.

Alternatively, *Basta Ya!* also aware of the power of the press established their own voice in order to reach their own target audience, the Latino people. They forcefully stood up to the mainstream coverage and summoned the people with a call for action.

Mastery in the Courtroom

It is important to recognize the participation of the four lawyers that defended the six youths. Charles R. Garry, Michael Kennedy, Richard A. Hodge, and R.J. Engel took on this case pro-bono. They had full knowledge that the defense of these youths would be a long, difficult process in which controversial elements were the mainstay, such as police brutality, the death of a policeman, the application of the felony murder doctrine, and the coming together of powerful social and political forces against their clients.

These lawyers knew the odds were stacked against them. They had no illusions about the "impartiality" of the trial judge. They also knew that one of the main problems they faced was to select a jury that had not been influenced by the coverage given to the case before it went to trial. They found it impossible to believe that of the twelve jurors that they would select, none of them would have read the numerous articles written against their clients or that none of them would have been influenced by these articles. The role the mass media played in this case was a major concern and a major obstacle to the team of lawyers in devising a strategy for this case. In spite of this and

after eighteen months they were able to deliver an acquittal in this trial, something unheard of and unexpected when it came to trying someone for the death of a policeman.

Charles Garry, the lead attorney, and a lawyer for 36 years at the time, had been accused of being a communist for speaking up during the McCarthy era, and at the time was infamous in some circles because of his representation as lead counsel for the Black Panther Party. He expressed his anger at what he believed was yet another injustice occurring, this time to seven youth Latino men. In his book "Street-fighter in the Court Room - The Peoples Advocate", Garry makes a statement as true today as when he wrote it:

I believe that we will only have real justice in this country when all Americans can eat without having to steal, and when there is decent housing and medical care for everyone. When we have an equitable distribution of the wealth, and when racism and discrimination are unknown, then maybe we can start to talk about "justice". (1977, p.267)

This philosophy was clearly seen in how Garry lead this group of lawyers into the trial of Los Siete. They showed their anger in the courtroom for the atrocity they felt was being committed. While making his closing statements, Garry was interrupted by an objection made by

the assistant district attorney, Thomas Norman, and when it was agreed on by Judge Lawrence Mana, which many times occurred during the trial, he let him and the jury know exactly how he felt:

This has been a classic example of constant interruptions by the court and by the Prosecution under the guise that he has certain duties to perform, but it is always the Prosecution who wins out any of the rulings made by this court, and I told this court time and time again that it's about time that we had the opportunity to have a free trial in this case.

He goes on to state:

These are the kind of things we are up against. This is why I attack the system that they talk about as law and order. This is not law and order. This is what I call imprisonment without trial, and the Judge is just as much a part of it." (*California v. Los Siete de la Raza*, 1970)

Mario Martinez, one of the clients of Charles Garry, speaks of Charles Garry's ability to get his point across as seen by the above statement. Martinez states:

Charles Garry had a reputation of taking on the establishment. He had made a career in his later years of defending people that were being targeted by the establishment. Charlie saw the judges as the tools and executioners of the policies of the establishment. That's why when he walked into the courtroom he was prepared to go to jail for contempt, and he pushed as hard as was allowed to defend us. Charlie made it very clear to everyone that the district attorney, the police, and the judge were working in cahoots to achieve a guilty verdict irrespective of where the truth lay. Charlie never

saw the judge as an impartial participant in our case but instead as a facilitator of the system to convict us. (Mario Martinez, personal communication, March 19, 2006)

At the end of the trial what was made clear by these four exceptional lawyers was that Officer McGoran was no victim in this case, but instead prompted these youths to defend themselves.

Los Siete de La Raza after the Trial

Where as the *San Francisco Chronicle* used a harsh bias tone to build a perception of the seven youths as nothing but hoodlums and gang members, *Basta Ya!* in their own bias tone almost glorified these same seven youths to be victims of a main stream plot and heroes to the people of the Mission District. Stated in the first article of *Basta Ya!*, one of the top headlines read, "Fighters for La Raza" implying that all seven youths were actively involved in "fighting" for causes affecting the Latino community. A smaller headline above reads "The Martinez Family". The truth lies somewhere in the middle. Two of the seven youths, Mario Martinez and Rodolfo Martinez, were highly active in the politics of the time, especially as it pertained to the Latino community, and were also students at San Mateo College active in recruiting other Latinos

into the college. The other five youths already had run-ins with the law before this incident. To some extent, victims themselves of a society that had worked to engrain in them their place as less worthy and less capable, these five young men were trying to survive by whatever means they felt were available to them. Several were petty thieves and they had learned the survival skills to survive in the Mission District and against the police.

Basta Ya! which never claimed to be an unbiased newspaper, chose to create the image that all seven youths were politically conscious individuals working to better the entire community. What *Basta Ya!* emphasized above all else, was that these youths no matter what their past, were used as scapegoats for the misdealings of the police and deserved a fair trial:

There was an inherent injustice about the doctrine under which we were charged. The felony murder doctrine, that if any one is around during the commission of a felony, everybody is then guilty of murder. I think a lot of people felt that you can't take six lives for one. There was something really unjust about that and I think that resounded with a lot of people. (Mario Martinez, personal communication, March 19, 2006)

After the acquittal, the state continued to try to imprison Los Siete by charging them with offenses that occurred during their capture, now 18 months after the

fact. It became obvious to everyone that the state was intent on imprisoning these youths one way or another. In response to this, they felt they had no other choice but to flee and leave the country and became fugitives again. Eight years later, all charges were dropped by a judge in the interest of justice.

Significance of Study

The benefits from this study are derived by reexamining a forgotten and important case with the advantage of hindsight, and with the help of analytical, scholarly theories. This study also reveals cultural conflicts not ordinarily covered in the media or even in minorities' literature, and offers insights into the alternative newspaper *Basta Ya!*, what motivated its creation, and how the founders of this alternative press saw the need to develop a grass roots organization from a newspaper.

Through this study, we gain insights into better understanding the promulgation of biases in the promotion of causes, and how the media is used and manipulated to achieve certain results.

In its own right, this case is worthy of study in part because of the impact it had during its day, the lessons

learned about the influence that media has on critical decisions affecting people's lives, the effort put forth by some of the brightest legal minds in defense of truth and against bias and bigotry, and because it energized an entire community to fight for justice changing the lives of many of those involved forever.

Limitations

It is difficult to investigate incidents with the passing of time. We know the ending of the story and that may color our perception. At the same time, we may have forgotten or may never have known the historical context in which the story played. We live in different times with different social conventions. Similarly, it is not always good practice to rely upon the memories of participants. Memories fade and, what is worse, become distorted. Also, with the passing of time certain key players have passed away leaving some questions never to be answered. That is why this paper uses both content analysis and interview. Where possible, diaries, letters and other contemporaneous artifacts of the time were also sought out. Essentially, *Basta Ya!* serves this purpose as well as another voice to understand this incident.

A Forever Changed Mission District

The founders of the Los Siete Organization and the *Basta Ya!* newspaper were bound by a need for justice and a responsibility to tell the people's truth. "We were really serious, we felt a sort of ultimate responsibility to get the truth out because we were the bearers of truth and justice. We were really, really, sincere, we had to make sure that everybody knew the truth." (Donna James Amador, personal communication, March 19, 2006)

Although the inception of *Basta Ya!* newspaper was initially created to aid in the legal defense of Los Siete de la Raza, the Los Siete Organization, formed originally by a core 10 members, utilized their newspaper to address all the needs of their community. With their main mission statement of "Serve the People", they helped cultivate lasting changes to the Mission District and its residents. In a seemingly small time frame, the well structured organization swiftly started addressing the major concerns of the Latino community in San Francisco, while at the same time continuing to fight for the freedom of the seven youths standing trial.

Within a month of the incident, organizers with the help of the Black Panther Party put into print the first

edition of *Basta Ya!*. Although experience within the group on how to run a paper was limited at best, they felt an urgency to get their point across especially to combat the numerous articles published by the *San Francisco Chronicle* in just the first month. Donna James Amador comments:

We needed to get some publicity to get some people together, we had to let people know because they were going to think these guys did something terrible, they killed a police man, and we were worried people would want nothing to do with them, it was a very conservative community and we had to break through that conservativeness to get people to come and support them. (Donna James Amador, personal communication, March 19, 2006)

Lead by the ideology of serving the people, they created and implemented several innovative programs to help the community. Stated by Donna James Amador:

I think a lot of what we did is visible today in things that we see today as common place like free breakfast and lunch program's in the schools because we embarrassed the school system and we embarrassed the government by feeding kids, by having free clinics as a result of us flaunting we did this stuff for free, and we provided it for the people in the community. (Donna James Amador, personal communication, March 19, 2006)

Speaking towards one of the groups achievements, Judy Drummond states:

I firmly believe we really were responsible for getting the translators into General Hospital because we made such a big issue of it and we were there, a lot of us were there a lot of hours trying to get that issue across, that bilingual translators were needed to reflect San Francisco's population. (Judy Drummond, personal communication, March 19, 2006)

Their list of accomplishments is impressive, especially taking into account the small time frame in which they began to create changes.

- Started a restaurant named Basta Ya! with the philosophy of offering affordable food while also feeding the mind with political awareness.
- Concerned with the well being of the children in the community many of whose families lived below the poverty level, they established Free Breakfast for Children program at a local church opening their doors every morning from 8-10am, Monday through Friday.
- Started the Legal Aid Office, giving the community a place to address any legal needs.
- Started the first free medical clinic in the Mission District, serving the families and children that otherwise could not afford a check-up none the less paid health care.

- Offered a free ambulance service to any one needing emergency care.
- Provided translators in the hospitals which at the time was not a standard.
- Offered consulting against the mandatory draft into the armed forces.
- Offered assistance for entering college.
- Organized countless community events

Many of these services which by today's standards are common in most communities were non-existent in the Mission District. By this knowledge, Los Siete Organization can be seen as innovators and leaders to creating change through self reliance, unparalleled dedication, and a drive to better the lives of the Mission District's Latino community.

The case of Los Siete de la Raza was not just a fight to free seven Latino youths, but in turn became a cry of the people, screaming Basta Ya!, "Enough!". They took on the media, the established institutions, and demanded their place as equal hard working citizens of this country. As stated by Donna James Amador in an article written in the book *The Whole World's Watching: Peace and Social Justice Movements of the 1960's and 1970's*, "We knew this was an

issue larger than the arrest of six young men. It was an issue of police brutality in the Latino Community, of poverty and lack of education, of racism and oppression." (2001, p.36)

Energized by an acquittal, The Los Siete Organization felt a sense of accomplishment:

It was so heartening, because at that time the war in Vietnam was just jamming, and people were dying right and left and there were so many things going on that we didn't have a say in or control over and this was something we worked hard at, and though ultimately it was won on the legal merits, we could feel a small part in the victory." (Donna James Amador, personal communication, March 19, 1969)

Those involved in the case continued their fight for justice long after the acquittal was declared. They entered careers as teachers, doctors, artists, local politicians, reporters, producers of documentaries, writers, poets, and organizers. Yolanda Lopez, the artist who did all the art work for the paper, states what she learned from her experience:

I learned from Los Siete, independence. I think it made me a stronger person. As an artist it made me commit myself to being an artist and I found my voice with Los Siete and I knew that that's my work in portraying Latino's as truthfully as I could. Once I saw my art work in the newspaper, or on a button, or on a leaflets or posters up on the streets, and on store fronts, that to me became my gallery. It not

only provided me the content of my work, but the context, the social, political, environmental context of my work. (Yolanda Lopez, personal communication, March 19, 2006)

Each of the people involved in this organization were changed by their involvement, proud to have been a part of a movement, clearly knowing the obstacles that as people of color they would continue to face but ready for the challenge.

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Appendix A

Interview Questions

Specific questions asked to the defendant will be as follows:

1. In general how would you consider the news coverage on the part of the *San Francisco Chronicle*? Was it fair in most cases to the facts of the case?
2. How much news coverage was given to this case on the part of the local newspaper, (*San Francisco Chronicle*) minimal, average, great amount?
3. Do you feel the news coverage portrayed you fairly?
4. What kind of picture did the *San Francisco Chronicle* present about what type of person you are?
5. What kind of picture did *Basta Ya!* present about what type of a person you are?
6. What kind of picture did the *San Francisco Chronicle* present about what type of people the police were?
7. What kind of picture did *Basta Ya!* present about what type of people the police were?
8. What words did the *San Francisco Chronicle* use to describe you, the police?
9. What type of words did *Basta Ya!* use to describe you, the police?

10. What kind of newspaper would you consider *Basta Ya!*?
11. Do you think the news coverage effected people's views on this case? How so?
12. How much did you follow the news coverage before the trial and after?
13. Once the trial began, did the news coverage change at all, if so, how?
14. Were there ever accompanying photos to the articles? If so, what were they of?
15. What kind of headlines do you remember?
16. Did the newspaper ever use derogatory terms to describe you?
17. In general, how did these newspapers portray different ethnic groups?

Specific questions asked to the organizers will be as follows:

1. How did you first hear of this case?
2. In general how would you consider the news coverage on the part of the *San Francisco Chronicle*? Was it fair in most cases?
3. How much news coverage was given to this case on the part of the local mainstream newspapers, (*San Francisco Chronicle*) minimal, average, great amounts?

4. Would you say the news coverage was fair or biased?
What makes you think so?
5. What kind of picture did the newspapers present in regards to the police?
6. What kind of picture did the newspapers present in regards to the defendants?
7. What words did the press use to describe the police/defendants?
8. Do you think the amount of news coverage helped determine how important this case was seen by the public?
9. Why was the newspaper *Basta Ya!* created?
10. Who helped organize this paper and when did it have it's first publication?
11. How would you term what kind of newspaper *Basta Ya!* was?
12. How did *Basta Ya!* differ from the mainstream *San Francisco Chronicle*?
13. How accurate do you feel the coverage of *Basta Ya!* was to the accuracy of the case, *Los Siete*, the police?
14. Do you think the main stream news coverage effected people's views on this case? How so?

15. Did you follow news coverage through out the trial or only in the pre-trial?
16. Once the trial began, did news coverage change at all, if so, how?
17. How much did you rely on main stream media coverage to keep you updated on this case?
18. Were there ever accompanying photos to the articles? If so, what were they of?
19. What kind of headlines do you remember?
20. Were derogatory terms ever used by the newspapers to describe someone or something?
21. In general, how did these newspapers portray different ethnic groups?

Preliminary questions will be asked of all participants, adding additional questions as is felt to be needed during the actual interviewing process. Also, before each interview is conducted, copies of several of the articles printed during the case will first be sent to each interviewee for their review. Second or third interviews are options in the case that clarification or other information is needed.

Picture 1: Youths Kill an S.F. Policeman-Wild Siege at Shooting Scene. (1969, May 2). San Francisco Chronicle. p.1.

Youths Kill an S.F. Policeman -- Wild Siege at Shooting Scene



Victim's Partner Injured

One of San Francisco's most highly decorated police officers met sudden death at the hands of at least three youths here today in New Valley police station.

And the police partner, another highly decorated officer, was knocked down, kicked in the teeth and disarmed.

The action took place here today on Alvarado street at 12:20 a.m. and resulted in the death of Officer Joseph Brown, 41, and serious injury to Officer Paul McGowan.

The two officers held a total of 29 commendations for bravery. Each was married and the father of three children.

Policemen removed children from line of fire as Officer Brown's shot-covered body lay on sidewalk.

Picture 2: The End of a Crack Team. (1969, May 2).
San Francisco Chronicle. p.3.

d of a Crack Team



A recent photo of Brodnik and McGoran at work.

Picture 3: Huge Search for Killers of Policeman. (1969, May 2). San Francisco Chronicle. p.1.

Youths Sought

Policeman Shot To Death in S.F.

From Page 1

tin as "armed and dangerous."

Officers Brodnik and McGoran formed the famous "Mission Eleven" team as plainclothesmen assigned to anti-burglary work in the Mission District.

Captain Philip Kiely, captain of Mission Station, said they had told him earlier yesterday morning that they were going out to make some arrests.

The arrests, the captain said, would have completed an investigation they had been working on involving a gang of auto boosters, car thieves and narcotics peddlers.

The two officers were driving a battered undercover car when they approached 433 Alvarado street.

There, according to Captain Kiely, they saw two young men taking a portable TV and a portable radio from a parked car into the building.

The events that followed were pieced together by police from accounts of witnesses.

LINEUP

Inspector Jack Cleary said the two officers approached the youths and lined them up against a wall.

Hours later, at Mission Emergency Hospital, Officer McGoran told Captain Kiely that one of the youths took a gun, possibly his gun, and spun around and shot Joe Brodnik, who was wearing a white T shirt, was not armed at the time.

Mrs. Beatrice Arroyo, who lives nearby at 429 Alvarado, said she heard some shots.

pected two-story apartment building was surrounded by heavily armed officers.

Captain Kiely, one of the first to reach the scene, said McGoran was hysterical, repeating: "Joe is dead . . . Joe is dead . . . They took my pistol."

The Tactical Squad, police dogs, a police helicopter and scores of officers converged on the area.

Volleyes of automatic rifle fire were pumped into the second floor and attic of the suspected building where at least two of the youths were believed hiding.

Tear gas shells also were fired into the building and a Tac Squad officer blared on a bullhorn:

"Attention 433 Alvarado. . . Come out of there."

There was no response, so officers wearing gas masks and with guns at the ready smashed through the door.

Other officers piled into the basement and into the rear of the building. They found no suspects.

BODY

All this time, Brodnik's body remained stretched on the pavement in front of the building.

The aerial ladder of a fire truck was used to help officers to the roof. No suspects were found there, either.

The man hunt continued throughout the Noe Valley area for two hours.

A helicopter churned overhead, its police crew trying to spot escape routes.

Prowl cars criss-crossed the area checking successive reports of possible suspects. Two cars were stopped, one at 22nd and Valencia and one at 30th and Church streets.



Where Brodnik died



MARIO MARTINEZ
Wanted for questioning



Picture 4: Huge Search for Killers of Policeman. (1969, May 2). San Francisco Chronicle. p.1.

<p>a parked car into the building.</p> <p>The events that followed were pieced together by police from accounts of witnesses.</p> <p>LINEUP</p> <p>Inspector Jack Cleary said the two officers approached the youths and lined them up against a wall.</p> <p>Hours later, at Mission Emergency Hospital, Officer McGoran told Captain Kiely that one of the youths took a gun, possibly his gun, "and spun around and shot Joe."</p> <p>Brodnik, who was wearing a white T-shirt, was not armed at the time.</p> <p>Mrs. Beatrice Arroyo, who lives nearby at 429 Alvarado, said she heard some shots, maybe four, and then she saw what looked to her like some teen-agers fighting.</p> <p>"One man had fallen on the ground and then I saw them kick him in the face," she said.</p> <p>FLIGHT</p> <p>Seconds later, the youths fled. Three possibly ran down the street to Nellie alley while two others were believed to have fled into the house at 433 Alvarado.</p> <p>Fire Captain Adolph Peněšky, who lives at 430 Alvarado, looked out his window after hearing what sounded like firecrackers.</p> <p>"I saw one officer lying on the sidewalk (Brodnik) and the other officer (McGoran) was propped against a wall," he said.</p> <p>Neighbors called police and minutes later the</p>	<p>basement and into the rear of the building. They found no suspects.</p> <p>BODY</p> <p>All this time, Brodnik's body remained stretched on the pavement in front of the building.</p> <p>The aerial ladder of a fire truck was used to help officers to the roof. No suspects were found there, either.</p> <p>The man hunt continued throughout the Noe Valley area for two hours.</p> <p>A helicopter churned overhead, its police crew trying to spot escape routes.</p> <p>Prowl cars criss-crossed the area checking successive reports of possible suspects. Two cars were stopped, one at 22nd and Valencia and one at 30th and Church streets, but they did not contain the wanted youths.</p> <p>Police finally conceded that the young men had slipped away.</p> <p>CARS</p> <p>The all-points bulletin that asked for the arrest of Rios, Rodrigues and Martinez described two cars they might be driving.</p> <p>One is a 1960 Ford station wagon, license WZF 802. The other is a 1955 orange Chevrolet with a large dent in the rear.</p> <p>Captain Kiely, who said that Brodnik was one of his close friends, had tears in his eyes as he spoke of Brodnik and McGoran as "two of my best officers."</p> <p>"They were courageous men. Their records are filled with commendations," he said.</p>	<p>MARIO MARTINEZ Wanted for questioning</p>  <p>JOSE RIOS All-points bulletin</p>  <p>NELSON RODRIGUES Named by McGoran</p>
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Picture 5: Slain Officer's Story - The Widow's Story of Fear. (1969, May 3). San Francisco Chronicle. p.3.



Picture 6: A Survivor - Rites for an Idealistic Cop.
(1969, May 6). San Francisco Chronicle. p.1.

A Survivor



Picture 7: S.F. Cop Slaying Suspects Caught - A Police Trap in Santa Cruz. (1969, May 7).
San Francisco Chronicle. p.1.



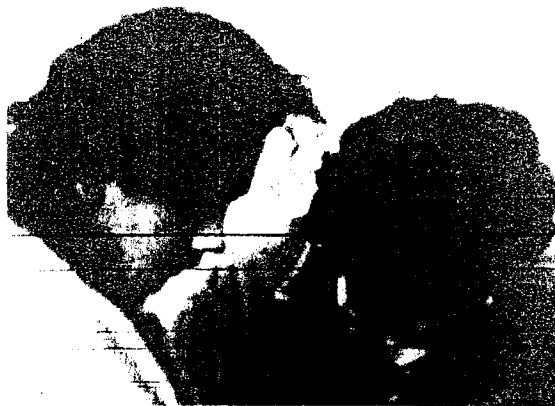
Picture 8: S.F. Cop Slaying Suspects Caught - A Police Trap in Santa Cruz. (1969, May 7). San Francisco Chronicle. p.1.



Six Youths Captured In Car

Five prime suspects in a fatal shooting of a police officer, Jose Hernandez, were caught in a police trap yesterday in Santa Cruz.

Police Officer Martinez with Charles Ellis looking on.



Picture 9: The Lie Detector Issue - More Los Siete Drama.
(1970, July 22). San Francisco Chronicle. p.5.



Los Siete defense team: Charles Garry, Michael Kennedy, Richard Hodge and R. Jay Engel

Picture 10: Turmoil on Market Street After a Los Siete Rally. (1970, August 22). San Francisco Chronicle. p.30.

**Market St.
Scuffle**

**ABM Victory for N
Senate Votes Expa**



By Texas Lottin

Officers wrestled on Market street with a youth who wouldn't yield his flag to police who thought its staff could be used as a club

Picture 11: Turmoil on Market Street After a Los Siete Rally. (1970, August 22). San Francisco Chronicle. p.30.

Turmoil on Market Street After a Los Siete Rally

From Page 1

now," Perez shouted.

At least 400 of the crowd followed him in the march across Market street to the Hall of Justice.

Police, who had been massing riot-ready in City

Hall before the noon rally, made no move to stop the demonstrators. For the most part the crowd kept to the sidewalks, singing a rhythmic Latin-flavored slogan: "Free Los Siete. Viva, Viva."

At intersections the demon-

strators stopped traffic, buses and street cars that barred their way.

At the Hall of Justice, helmeted traffic patrolmen and jump-suited Tactical Squad officers barred the entrances.

There were five arrests in

isolated instances as the demonstrators kept up their chanting and taunted the lines of police in front of the building for some 20 minutes.

One black man, apparently intoxicated, kept firing a banter of insults at the "pigs," and was finally grabbed by half a dozen officers who dragged him, head first, up the stone stairs and into the Hall of Justice.

CHANT

The crowd then walked in a mass up to the Financial District, continually chanting the demand to "Free Los Siete," but, again, sticking to the sidewalk.

Finally, at the gore formed by Stockton street, O'Farrell street and Market, the crowd split into two groups, one going up Market and the other up O'Farrell.

Windows in Grodus men's store at Stockton and Market and the Topps & Trowsers store at 780 Market shattered as police at last moved in to contain the crowd.

SCUFFLES

Several people were struck with clubs and others roughly shoved as police halted the march. The demonstrators began shouting "The whole world is watching," and there were momentary scuffles between persons in the crowd and police.

Three more persons were arrested at that scene before



Picture 12: Cleared on Murder - Brodnik Verdict: All Not Guilty. (1970, November 8). San Francisco Chronicle. p.1.

Brodnik Verdict: All Not Guilty



Minutes after a jury acquitted them of the murder of policeman Joseph Brodnik, these four were returned to County Jail to face earlier charges in other courts.

In front are Danilo Melendez (l) and Jose Rios; rear, Nelson Rodriguez (l) and Rodolfo Martinez. Two others held elsewhere in jail also were cleared.

But Six Still Not Released

By Harold V. Streeter

Six young Latinos, after 18 months in jail, won acquittal last night by a jury on charges of murdering Patrolman Joseph Brodnik and attempting to kill his partner during a chance encounter and street fight May 1, 1969, in the Mission District.

But the hugs and kisses from sobbing relatives were scarcely over before they were shocked by the news that they are not yet free.

Because all six were caught by Santa Cruz police at rifle point, five days after the shooting in a car stolen at Pescadero Beach, they are to be held for Santa Cruz and San Mateo counties. The jailer passed that word.

'Despicable'

"This is the first I ever heard of those hold orders and it's despicable," roared Charles Garry, chief of the four defense lawyers.

A crowd of about 75 Los Siete supporters awaited outside the front entrance to the Hall of Justice for more than two hours while the jury de-



GARY LESCALLET
No burglary verdict



MARIO MARTINEZ
Still in custody

Suspect Held

Picture 13: Los Siete Free on Bail. (1970, November 10).
San Francisco Chronicle. p.30.



Picture 14: Life Without Joseph Brodnik.
(1970, November 30).
San Francisco Chronicle. p.22.

Life Without Joseph Brodnik

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JESSIE BRODNIK

"he was a fine police officer — his personal life is something else. They didn't bring out the personal lives of the defendants. It shouldn't have been allowed. I blame the judge."

Judge Lawrence Mana: "It looks as if he just threw up his hands." (Trial records show that the judge established something of a record in the number of times he reprimanded the counsel for the defense for "unbecoming" and "unprofessional" conduct.)

The jury: "Too many questions went unanswered. They are not trained in the law. In England they have professional jurors.

"I wanted Joe to leave the department. Too many things had happened too often... especially with narcotics users. Several times he had come close to death.

"It used to be that a policeman walked a beat and

known reason the criminals have become so sensationalized in most cases they are virtually turning out to be the heroes."

Jessie Brodnik does not find her demand for the death of another human being as reprisal for her husband's murder to be conflicting with her strong religious views: "A life for a life," she insists.

"If we can't protect the policeman, how are we going to protect the citi-

togethe
quail

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not th
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home."

Now,
to live

'A Life for a Life'

zens? I feel that we will probably have to come almost to the point of a police state.

* * *

"I was raised at 18th and Eureka." Jessie Brodnik reminisced. "And in those

Picture 1: The Martinez Family - Fighters for la Raza. (1969, June). Basta Ya!. p.1.

BASTA YA!

A Newspaper for the Defense of
LOS SIETE DE LA RAZA

The Martinez family

Fighters for La Raza

What to do
when cops
bug you

See p. 2

EVEN AFTER BEING IN THE UNITED STATES FOR EIGHT YEARS, THE MARTINEZ FAMILY ALWAYS REMEMBERS EL SALVADOR, THE COUNTRY THEY CAME FROM. THEY RECALL ITS BEAUTY, THEIR GRANDPARENTS AND FAMILY AND FRIENDS THEY LEFT THERE. ALWAYS AT THE MARTINEZ HOME THERE IS TALK OF EL SALVADOR.

AROUND THE FAMILY TABLE STORIES ARE TOLD OF HOW MR. MARTINEZ AS A YOUNG BOY HAD TO LEAVE SCHOOL TO SUPPORT A FAMILY OF 11, WORKING IN THE FIELDS AND GOING TO TOWN ON SATURDAYS TO SELL WHATEVER HE COULD. SUCH MEMORIES ARE HOW THE MARTINEZ SONS LEARNED THE HISTORY OF THEIR PEOPLE.

Continued on page 2

Vol. 1 No. 1

June 1969

P. O. Box 12217, San Francisco, Cal. 94110

FREE LOS SIETE!

Frame-up in the Mission

Latino youths charged with murder

**BROWN
POWER**



"A BUNCH OF PUNKS", Mayor Alton has called the seven. He is already sure they are guilty. A gang of hoodlums, intimidating merchants, the Chronicle wrote about them a week before the incident which left one cop dead, another wounded, and seven of our young men charged with murder.

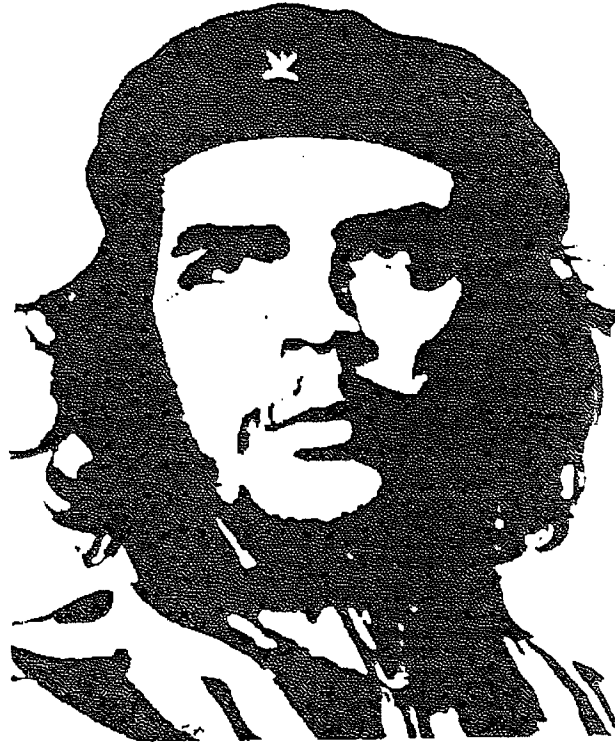
More than this, we tell our young men to go back to our people. He must not be the only one to profit from his education--and he must also recruit his brothers and sisters for the program. Mario, one of these "punks", went to summer school at the College of San Mateo in 1968, and now he even dreamed of going on and becoming a doctor.

with their brotherhood. They formed the Coalition of Raza for Action--first school year. Action succeeded. The College to hire counselors for the to hire more his and yellow skin members, and to Latino Studies Ed

Picture 2: The Martinez Family - Fighters for la Raza.
(1969, June). Basta Ya!. p.2.



Picture 3: Che Guevarra. (1969, June). Basta Ya!. p.3.



Picture 4: Third World Female Soldier, "Soldadera".
(1969, June). Basta Ya!. p.3.

eres ante apoyo al programa.

170 1249 ALABAMA STREET
San Francisco, Califas



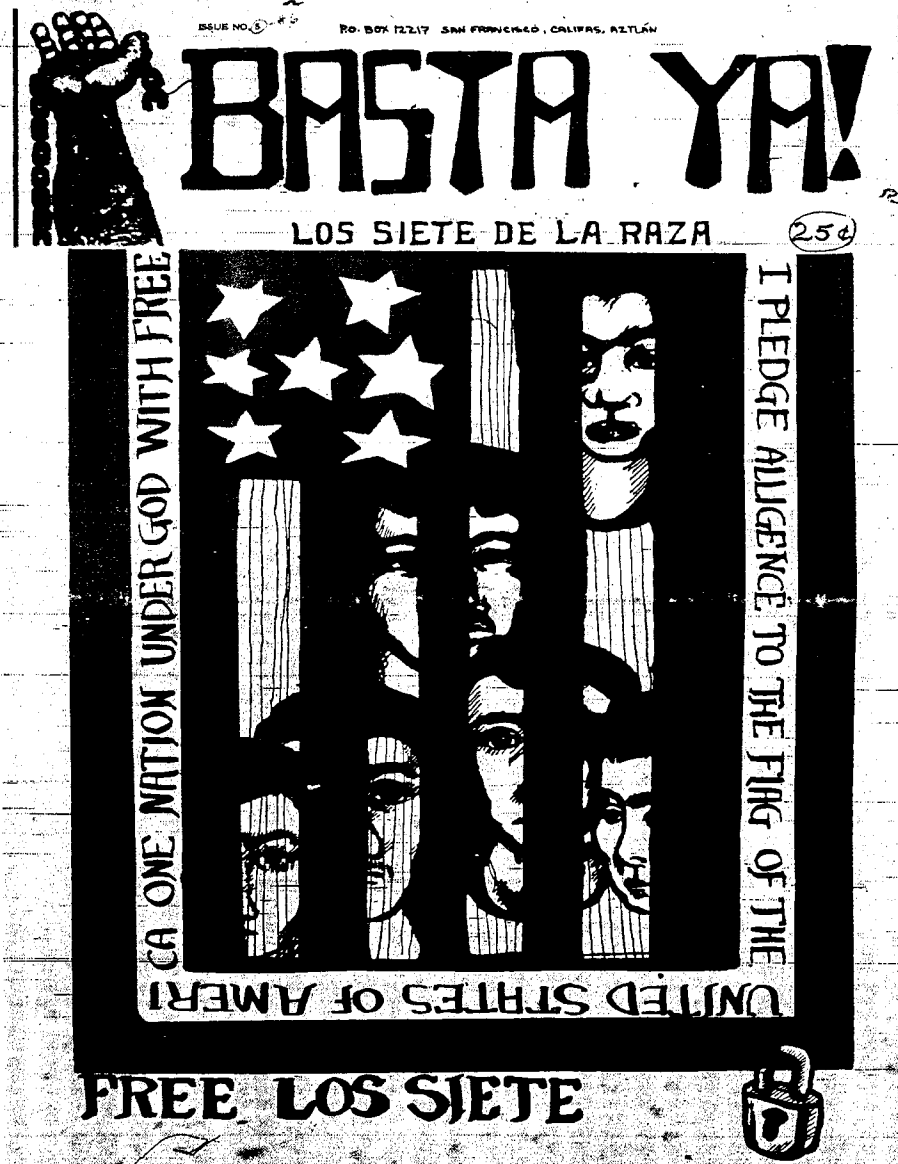
DE-
El GRITO



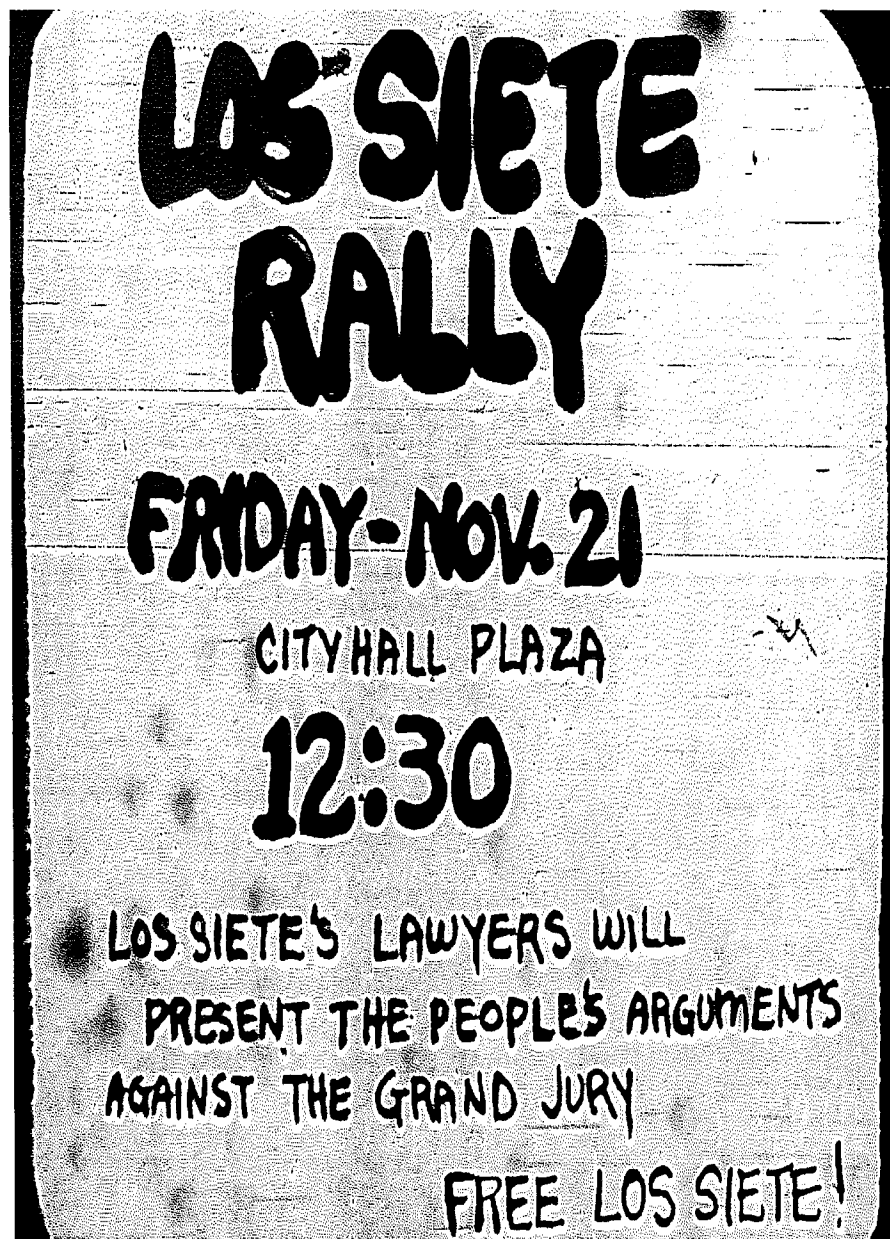
Picture 5: Front Page Cover. (1969, October).
Basta Ya!. p.1.



Picture 6: Front Page Cover. (1969, November).
Basta Ya!. p.1.



Picture 7: Los Siete Rally. (1969, November).
Basta Ya!. p.4.



Picture 8: Supporter at Rally. (1969, November).
Basta Ya!. p.6.



LOS SIETE ON TRIAL

Picture 9: Front Page Cover. (1970, January).
Basta Ya!. p.1.



Picture 10: Who Are Los Siete? (1970, January).
Basta Ya!. p.5.

WHO ARE LOS SIETE?

RODOLFO MARTINEZ, MARIO MARTINEZ, NELSON RODRIGUEZ, DANILO MELENDEZ, JOSE RIOS, GARY LESCALLETT, AND GIO LOPEZ.


SEVEN YOUNG BROWN MEN' LEADERS IN THE MISSION COMMUNITY' WHO WERE ACTIVE IN RECRUITING BROTHERS AND SISTERS FOR COLLEGE.

RIPPED OFF THE STREETS AND UNJUSTLY CHARGED WITH THE MURDER OF OFFICER JOSEPH BRODNIK, A KNOWN HARRASSER OF YOUTH IN THE MISSION.

EVEN THOUGH THERE IS NO EVIDENCE AGAINST THEM, THEY HAVE BEEN HELD SINCE MAY 6 WITHOUT BAIL. DONATIONS MAY BE SENT TO: ATTORNEY CHARLES R. GARRY, 341 MARKET STREET, SAN FRANCISCO.

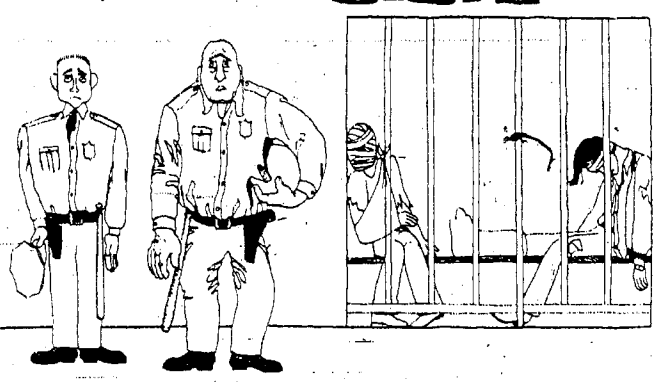
SUPPORT

COME TO THE HEARING



JAN. 9TH
HALL OF INJUSTICE
DEPT. 24
10:30 A.M.

LOS SIETE



Picture 11: Who Are Los Siete?. (1970, January).
Basta Ya!. p.1.



MARIO MARTINEZ NELSON RODRIGUEZ JOSE RIOS GARY LESCALLETT
DANILO MELENDEZ MR. CHARLES GARRY TONY MARTINEZ

WHO ARE LOS SIETE?

Picture 12: Los Siete Trial. (1970 August).
Basta Ya!. p.1.

NUMBER 11 AUGUST **¡ BASTA YA!** NUMERO 11 AGUSTO

MISSION COMMUNITY NEWSPAPER PERIODICO DE LA MISSION

LOS SIETE DE LA RAZA P. O. BOX 12217 SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA 25¢

VICTORY FOR HUELGA! Story p. 11

LOS SIETE TRIAL
CONTRADICTIONS FROM THE WITNESS CHAIR




GARY ESCALOTT--IN THE MIDDLE WHEN THE GROUP PICTURE WAS TAKEN

The trial of Los Siete de la Raza has begun. The courtrooms are full every day, the jury listens attentively. Los Siete sit day after day in their assigned chairs, the judge mumbles from behind the bench. What is this all for? What is happening here?

First, we should examine the concepts of American justice we are taught to believe. One is that all men are to be considered innocent until proven guilty. Even if Los Siete are proven innocent, they have already spent over 450 days and nights in jail. They have already been punished. If they are convicted, the over 14 months of time served will not be considered in their sentencing. The other concept is that the burden is on the state to prove guilt, not on the defendants to prove innocence. Read the following to see how this time honored institution is treating Los Siete. The following article is a day by day account from the eyes of this reporter on justice in the courts, with 4 fine peoples' lawyers and a courtroom full of witnesses.

cont. p 6

DANILA "DIBRE" MELENDEZ, MARIO MARTINEZ, ROXOLFO "TONY" MARTINEZ, NELSON RODRIGUEZ, JOSE RIGGS

JUCIO DE LOS SIETE
CONTRADICCIONES DE LOS TESTIGOS

PHOTOS BY DORIS WAGNER

El juicio de Los Siete de la Raza ha

Picture 13: Sketch from Los Siete Trial. (1970 August).
Basta Ya!. p.3.



Picture 14: National Rally (1970, August).
Basta Ya!. p.6.

**LIBERTAD PARA
LOS SIETE
FREEDOM FOR THE
SOLEDAD BROTHERS**

**** NATIONAL RALLY ****

SAN FRANCISCO CIVIC CENTER
AUGUST 19, 1970
WEDNESDAY 12 NOON

**FREE ALL
POLITICAL PRISONERS**

LOS SIETE NEEDS MONEY

For the brothers' courtroom defense
send contributions to:
Los Siete Legal Defense Fund
c/o Charles Garry
341 Market Street
San Francisco, California 94101